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Fellowship

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FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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HE PENTAGON PREPARES FOR

GERM WARFARE

SPECIAL 12-PAGE SECTION ON CHEMICAL AND BACTERIAL WEAPONS
AT THEY ARE—HOW THEY DESTROY—THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM

in this issue

offrey F. Nuttall CHRISTIAN LOVE IN HISTORY

reviews of important new books

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ON THE CURRENT SCENE

LGRIM

The response to the President's 11-na- n tour has been a remarkable indication how deeply people over the world want believe that this was genuinely the ilgrimage for peace" it was described as ing. Newsmen and politicians alike were onished by the warmth with which Mr. senhower was greeted almost everywhere went; even the Communist press did tle to denigrate the intent or effects of journey. Perhaps just the spectacle of 69-year old man who has suffered three ent major illnesses undertaking such a enuous journey provided all the evidence his sincerity most people needed.

Probably it is wise neither to over-esti- te nor to belittle the possible effects of President's trip. Platitudes, even when oken with the utmost sincerity, do not far toward solving the complex prob- ms of today's world. The President has en a military man most of his life; there considerable evidence that his grasp of ues is neither profound nor compre- nsive; his reading is said to be superficial; s cronies represent largely the class that s profited most from the kind of society have and is least likely to want any dical changes in it. None of these factors ves much reason to hope that the Presi- nt will supply really significant leader- ip for peace in the year that is left of his rm of office.

But there is also evidence that Mr. senhower is a genuinely compassionate an, and some reporters noted that he emed deeply moved by what he saw of e hunger and need that permeate some the areas in which he traveled. Some his speeches seemed to indicate, too, at he may have begun to wonder whether e defense of peace might not be under- ken more hopefully with food and good ill than with missiles and threats.

The President still has enormous power, and his trip has demonstrated that he has a grip on the affections and hopes of millions of people. Should the spectacle of so much human misery in the midst of both great plenty and great waste stir him deeply enough, he could move the world a long way toward peace in the months he still has left. It may be a good time for praying men to ask that he be so stirred.

ONE MAN

On December 14, Willard Uphaus was sent to a New Hampshire jail to stay for a year or until he "purged himself" of contempt of court. The purging can be accomplished by giving to that state's attorney general, Louis C. Wyman, the names of those who in 1954 and 1955 attended conferences of the World Fellowship of Faiths, of which Willard Uphaus is director. That he is not likely to do.

Uphaus is a Methodist, a former professor of religion at Vanderbilt and Yale, and an FOR member. He has been called a number of things by his critics, who charge him with being "soft" on communism; he describes himself as a Christian pacifist. His current troubles began when Attorney General Wyman was authorized by the 1953 State Legislature to "investigate subversion."

New Hampshire being the state it is, nests of subversives are hard to come by, and Uphaus and the World Fellowship have been almost the only game in the Wyman bag. The case has gone through the New Hampshire courts and up to the Supreme Court, which sustained the Attorney General's right to demand the information he asks. In the face of Uphaus's continued refusal, Mr. Wyman writes to those who seek leniency that this is "one man" setting himself against the whole majesty of the law, and this cannot be tolerated.

The argument raises an interesting point. It has validity, of course: the whole organized machinery of justice was engaged, and

did render a verdict, and from one point of view it is presumptuous of one man to set himself athwart so majestic a stream of human thought. But from another point of view, Willard Uphaus finds himself setting his one man's opinion against one other man's. For the Supreme Court decision was on a 5-4 vote, and if one of the five justices had voted the other way, the whole majesty of the law would have upheld Willard Uphaus's conception of the responsibility of the human conscience.

COME-UPPANCE

Nobody is likely to accuse Ohio's Senator Stephen M. Young of being a pacifist, but a good many pacifists must have felt a surge of fellow feeling for him in his recent triumphant brush with the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) American Legion. The whole thing started when the Legion Council voted to censure the Senator for agreeing to speak before the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which they said had been cited as a Communist front. The Legion's "Americanism chairman" communicated the news to Senator Young, who acknowledged the letter promptly and with no noticeable concern for tact:

"I repudiate your resolution, Buster, and your pompous, self-righteous, holier-than-thou title of 'Americanism chairman,'" he wrote, and observed a little farther on, "My observation as a member of the American Legion is that many of you loud-mouthed publicity-seeking professional veterans were chairborne in the Pentagon, or elsewhere, while millions of us were overseas in combat."

Criticized for his comments by Cincinnati's Representative Scherer, Young replied tartly, "While I was in the Anzio beachhead, he was Safety Director of Cincinnati."

A year ago the Hamilton County Legion made the newspapers by demanding an investigation of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the aftermath of the trial of FOR member Maurice McCrackin for tax refusal.

TRANQUILITY

"If the devastation of atomic warfare is as great as it can be, to come out of shelter may be to come out to a primitive world. The cultural aspects of our present society may be gone and man's main occupation will be continual survival for many years to come. Man will probably find it necessary to return to the soil, to spend more of his time hunting, to turn his hand to fishing, he may forget about clocks and the evils of timetables, he may even establish a small colony and settle into a tranquility known only to those who are self-sufficient. Is the prospect of such a life so terrible?"

—Prof. Jack A. Vernon, in "Nuclear War—The Psychology Department Tests Its Civilian Side in 'Operation Hideaway.'" *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, October 30, 1959

Oh boy, vacation!

SUCCESS

One of our under-cover agents in the scientific community broke silence long enough to bring us the copy of *Princeton Alumni Weekly* from which the foregoing paragraph was quoted. The article was a report of an experiment in which Princeton's Psychology Department put a family with three small children into a "fallout shelter" to see if they could stay there successfully for fourteen days.

The family did survive the full two weeks, which presumably proved something, though one child "showed overt signs of minor regression" and both adults had daily attacks of incapacitating vertigo. But our agent obviously was not concerned with the experiment so much as with the entrancing prospect of the tranquil life of hunting and fishing in prospect after the war. He wants us to start a campaign to build shelters for fish and wild animals because he's afraid *they* might be killed by the fallout before he even gets a crack at them.

ELUSIVE

Anybody looking for a good minor research project may want to take up the hunt for the truth of what Dmitri Manuilsky said, or did not say, back in 1930. What he is alleged to have said has constituted the backbone of many an editorial or speech demanding a firmly suspicious atti-

le toward any seemingly peaceful ges-
es on the part of the Soviet Union.

Manuilsky was a member of the Bolshe-
hierarchy. In 1930 he is said to have
de a speech before what is variously
led the Lenin Institute of Political Sci-
ce and the Lenin School of Political
arfare. The speech reportedly declared
t "war to the hilt between Communism
d capitalism is inevitable," but, since
Soviet Union was not yet strong
ough for such a war, "our time will come
20 or 30 years." At that time, in order
gain the element of surprise, the Soviet
ion would launch "the most spectacular
ace movement on record. There will be
ctrifying overtures and unheard-of con-
ssions. The Capitalist countries, stupid
d decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in
ir own destruction. . . . As soon as their
ard is down, we shall smash them with
r clenched fist."

Now, say the editorialists, what more do
need to warn us against trafficking with
perfidious Communists or cooperating
th peace movements?

Editing is something like fishing; every
ce in a while you get a bite in a most
promising spot. The Manuilsky quota-
n has appeared so often that we almost
dn't bother to check its authenticity
hen it appeared on the inside front cover
a California legislative committee's
eport" on pacifism three years ago. The
ference there was to *"Pravda,* November
30." *Pravda* is a daily paper; we sent a
n who reads Russian down to the li-
ary where they keep a microfilm file. He
ad through the whole of November 1930,
thout finding a reference to the Manuil-
y speech.

Then Albert Bofman, a Chicagoan who
cumulates masses of printed material on
r and peace, sent us a letter from the
hief of the Reference and Bibliography
ivision of the Library of Congress, who
d failed to find any reference to the
otation in his files, either. Letters to the
alifornia committee were not answered.

This fall, the New York *Daily News*
otted out Mr. Manuilsky again, this time
r an editorial called "The Butcher's
ombshell." We wrote to the editorial
riter of the *News.*

By way of reply we received a photostat of another *News* editorial, dated May 27, 1955, in reply to an offer from the Communist *Daily Worker* to pay $1,000 to anyone who could document the Manuilsky quote. As its entry the *News* had referred to a Detroit ex-Communist named Joseph Zach Kornfeder, who claims to have been a student in the 1930s at "a Moscow school for spies and saboteurs which he says was named the Lenin School of Political Warfare." The editorial continues—

"In 1930, he states, Manuilsky was a lecturer at this school. One of his lectures, an hour long, was devoted to the theme boiled down in the quotation given above. Kornfeder took notes on Manuilsky's remarks, and insists that this quotation is an accurate summary of what the big Bolshevik said."

Satisfied?

BIRTH CONTROL

The recent public squabble over whether the United States might offer assistance in the area of birth control if it were requested by nations suffering from overpopulation, pulled the lid part way off what is probably the world's second most frightening problem, ranking close behind nuclear war. Though there is disagreement, most authorities concede that we are witnessing a population "explosion" on a world scale. Growing out of a combination of large populations that do not practice birth control and public health measures that are cutting down on infant and youthful mortality, the mushrooming populations increase at an unbelievable pace. Aldous Huxley points out that the world did not reach a total population of one billion until the nineteenth century; that the two billion figure was topped by 1931; and that already we are crowding the three billion mark. If the present rate continues, say the experts, world population will double—to six billion—in only 41 years.

The consequences of this explosion are seen now in the already overpopulated countries of Asia. Strenuous efforts to increase productivity in India so far have been barely enough to keep pace with the millions of new mouths that country has to feed annually. Predictions are that

China alone will have a population of a billion by the end of the century, and that this prospect accounts in part for the terrible impatience exhibited by the Chinese Communists.

It is a problem for the whole world to solve, and one of the more tragic aspects of the cold war is that it inhibits international attempts to solve it. If population increases continue unchecked and without adequate provision for feeding, peace anywhere in the world will be impossible.

We do not know enough to be able to say whether the question of supplying birth control aid is a live issue at the present moment or not, or whether there is any early prospect that this government will be asked for such aid. But if the issue does arise, it cannot be resolved simply by deferring to the Roman Catholic position. The Catholics deserve respect for the reverence for human life that is implicit in their position. But other Christians are led by as deep a reverence to try to prevent the bringing into the world of unwanted children and those for whom there will be no food to eat or place to sleep.

QUOTES

"Would the great religious leaders have preferred to die themselves rather than sanction the use of a weapon [the H-bomb] that brought the gift of life under total jeopardy? Specifically what would Christ do? If this question is irrelevant, then nothing in Christianity is relevant to the human situation today."

—Norman Cousins

"My feeling is that the so-called masculine virtues, at least the aggressive traits of hunting, killing, succeeding in business, are in the long run the most immature and harmful to mankind. In this atomic age, we need thinkers, philosophers, artists, poets—people who ask 'Why?' instead of 'How?'—and we need more of them to curb the mad rush to destruction of the engineers, soldiers, used-car salesmen and the rest. That's the theme that I think came out of *Tour of Duty* after I wrote it, though to tell the truth I just sat down to write a story."

—Walter J. Sheldon, in
Tour of Duty, Lippincott, 1959.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Brock Chisholm is President of the World Federation for Mental Health. After a military career during which he rose to the rank of major general in the Canadian Army in World War II, he served as Deputy Minister of Health of that country and later, from 1948 to 1953, as Director General of the World Health Organization. He is the author of *Prescription for Survival*, a discussion of the challenge of the atomic age. His article in this issue is based on an address he gave when he was named "Humanist of the Year" at the annual meeting of the American Humanist Association, February 27, 1959.

Charles C. Walker is Middle Atlantic Regional Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In this capacity he has been active in the FOR-sponsored Vigil at Fort Detrick since its inception, and is its co-chairman. In addition to the article that bears his name, FELLOWSHIP is indebted to him for much of the material that appears in the staff report on "The Facts About 'CBR' Weapons" and in the boxes that accompany this and the other articles.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall is lecturer in church history at New College, London, and the author of a number of books in his field, of which the latest is *Christian Pacifism in History*. His article in this issue is adapted from his address at the annual conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, last August.

Among our book reviewers this time are **William L. Neumann,** professor of history at Goucher College; **Hugh B. Hester,** a retired brigadier-general of the U.S. Army; **Barbara Reynolds,** who sailed with her husband, Earle, into the forbidden waters of the U.S. nuclear test zone in 1958; **George Willoughby,** a crew member of the "Golden Rule" and secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

Note: Reprints of "The Pentagon Prepares for Germ Warfare" are available from FELLOWSHIP at 10¢ each, 12 for $1, 50 for $3.50.

THE PENTAGON PREPARES FOR GERM WARFARE

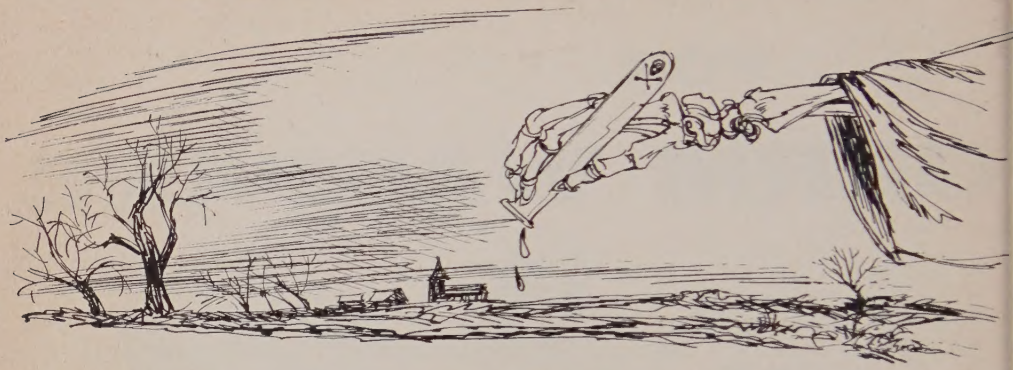
THE MEN IN THE ABOVE DRAWING are United States Marines who are being trained in the use of a weapon that ranks with the hydrogen bomb as an instrument of mass destruction. This weapon is bacterial and chemical warfare. In our country today factories of the U.S. Army Chemical Corps are busily producing disease-laden toxins which, if used, would scatter sickness and agonizing death indiscriminately among infants, the aged and infirm, as well as healthy adults, in an "enemy" population.

At one such factory, handfuls of people have stood outside the gate for months in a religiously motivated silent vigil of prayer and protest, while the military and civilian servants of this lethal enterprise went about their work. In a nation of burgeoning church membership, only a few voices have been raised to challenge these preparations.

By and large, Christian Americans have listened mutely while military leaders have spent thousands of dollars, using every trick in the hucksters' book to "sell" them on the use of these weapons in a future war—and, moreover, to win consent (or acquiescence) for using them *first*, in other words, to be given a free hand.

The articles that follow are an attempt to unwrap the glittering gift-wrapping and to reveal the Pentagon's "Operation Blue Skies" for the gruesome swindle that it is. And by so doing, perhaps to give heart to those who believe, however vaguely, that there is a Power mightier than all these weapons and that only by trusting in Him—not the Pentagon—will we be delivered from evil. —The Editors.

THE FACTS ABOUT "CBR" WEAPONS



CBR is shorthand for chemical, biological and radiological weapons. They have been ballyhooed as "fantastic new weapons" which could "virtually paralyze a nation without firing a shot." or as "a merciful alternative to the atomic bomb." CBR is one of the manifestations of the proliferating technology of modern weaponry.

"Chemical warfare is the intentional employment of toxic gases, liquids or solids to produce casualties, and the use of screening smoke or incendiaries."[1] Incendiaries were used more than 3,000 years ago. "Greek fire" was developed about 600 B.C. and had the capacity to burst into flame on contact with water. No major gas attack occurred, however, until the early days of World War I, at various times launched by the Germans, French and English. American troops first used gas against the Germans in 1918.

It is claimed that the use of gas can save lives. Brig. Gen. J. H. Rothschild, former head of the Chemical Corps Research and Development Command, holds that some of the fighting in the Pacific islands in World War II could have been substantially shortened, in one case by using 900 tons of mustard gas. A leading medical expert on chemical warfare effects is quoted as saying of its use in World War I that it was "not only one of the most efficient agencies for effecting casualties but it is the most humane method ever applied on the battlefield."[2] Many World War I veterans who survived gas attacks might challenge the latter part of such a statement.

In recent public relations efforts, spokesmen for the Army Chemical Corps have made much of the new psychochemicals and non-lethal incapacitating agents. Maj. Gen. William Creasy, former Army Chief Chemical Officer, has written: "For the first time in history there is the promise—even the probability—that war will not necessarily mean death."[3]

On the other hand, nerve gas is extremely lethal. An article in *U.S. News & World Report* describes it as a "liquid poison that can be converted into odorless, invisible fog, hard to detect and almost impossible to defend against." It destroys the normal relationship between nerve ends and the muscles they control. It "could make bomb shelters death traps. . . . A tiny drop on any part of the skin can kill almost immediately." Its particular capability is for "killing the entire population in a given area."[4]

"Biological warfare is the military use of living organisms or their toxic products to cause death, disability or damage to man, his domestic animals or crops."[5] Poisoning wells was probably the earliest form of CBR warfare. "In the 14th century, the Tartars beseiging the Italians in

1 "Research in CBR," Report No. 23 of the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the U.S. House of Representatives, August 10, 1959.

2 "Germs And Gas: The Weapons Nobody Dares Talk About," in *Harper's*, June, 1959, p. 30.
3 *This Week*, May 17, 1959.
4 *U.S. News & World Report*, May 30, 1958.
5 "Research in CBR," *op. cit.*, p. 3.

fortress in Crimea threw over the wall he bodies of plague victims, forcing bandonment of the fortress."[6]

Experiments in recent years have produced a wide range of possible disease gents: typhus, cholera, smallpox, botulinus, even the plague. Plants and animals re also potential targets. There have been econd thoughts on using smallpox, however, for as Maj. Gen. Creasy points out, 'Not only do you kill people but even hose that get well will be an eternal reminder of the thing we did in this country hat we may want to be friendly with ater."[7]

Bacterial agents such as botulinus can be antastically lethal. A single ounce of the oxic agent causing "Q fever" would be enough to infect 28 *billion* people.[8]

In Congressional hearings, Major General Creasy stated that chemical and bacterial weapons "can be tailored in both cases with limits in each case, of course, so as to cause irritation, debilitation, make people sick for short or long periods of time, or you can select . . . diseases which kill a great many people and with some 90 to 95 percent would die, other diseases around 40 percent, and even in debilitating diseases you probably would have 3 to 4 percent of fatalities."[9]

6 *Ibid.*

7 Quoted by Walter Schneir, "The Campaign to Make Chemical Warfare Respectable," in *The Reporter*, October 1, 1959.

8 Brig. Gen. J. H. Rothschild, *Harper's*, June 1959, p. 33.

9 Testimony before the Subcommittee on Department of Defense Appropriations, House Appropriations Committee, March 26, 1958.

Maj. Gen. Marshall Stubbs, presently the Army Chief Chemical Officer, said in a speech at Wilmington, Del., in April 1959, that approximately 450 industries are cooperating in an active industrial liaison program. A number of universities also cooperate, as does the U. S. Public Health Service.

"Radiological warfare employs the harmful ionizing effects of radiation against man."[10] This is of more recent vintage. It may include radioactive dust or death rays euphemistically referred to as "anti-personnel electronic radiation transmitters."

The Department of the Army has tentatively approved a $78.8 million outlay for "Items For Chemical-Biological-Radiological Warfare," of which $38.9 million is for research and development.[11] This compares with a figure of about $85 million which the U.S. government spends on all world health programs, including those of the United Nations.

Some spokesmen for CBR claim these weapons would be especially advantageous for the U. S. in limited wars, in particular in a war with Russia or China. It is pointed out that defenses against BW are complicated and expensive; and that CBR is ideally suited for use against superior numerical forces. CBR is recommended as an effective deterrent to limited wars, provided it is made clear that the U.S. would use these weapons as it saw fit.

10 "Research in CBR," *op. cit.*, p. 3.

11 Department of Defense Appropriations Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, April 27, 1959, p. 430.

Eight Hundred Casualties Already

"At present, two classes of lethal gases are being stockpiled—nitrogen mustards and nerve gases. The first is an improved version of the old First World War mustard gas that killed or incapacitated thousands of doughboys; the second is a German invention, developed during the Second World War . . .

"There is nothing particularly humane about nerve gas and few would deny that it is an extremely lethal weapon. At Rocky Mountain Arsenal, near Denver, where the gas was manufactured until recently, there have been more than eight hundred industrial casualties in the past six years, some of them fatal. Nerve gas can be absorbed very quickly through the skin; a small drop on a man's hand will halt his respiration in a few minutes, unless an antidote is speedily injected."

—Walter Schneir, "The Campaign to Make Chemical Warfare Respectable," in **The Reporter,** October 1, 1959.

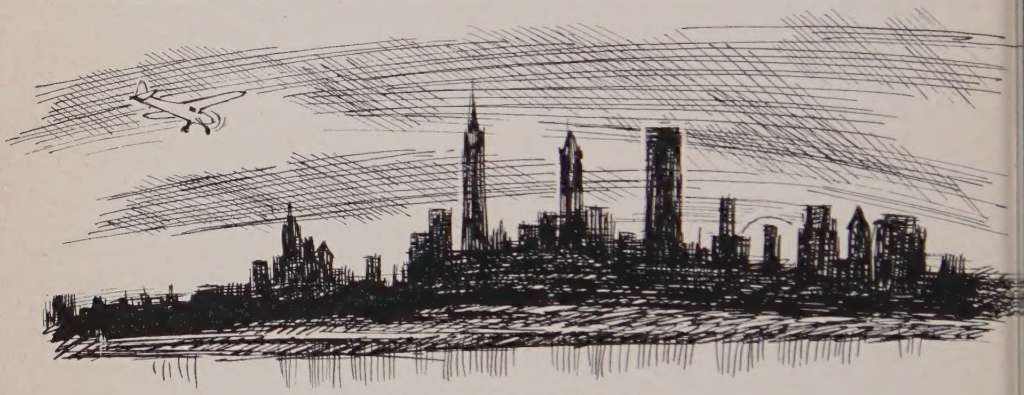
Dismayed at the possibility that public revulsion might render CBR unusable and useless, some Pentagon officials launched a public relations campaign, "Operation Blue Skies," ably described by Walter Schneir in *The Reporter* of October 1, 1959. Jack Raymond writes in *The New York Times:* "Leading military officials are trying to overcome public horror of chemicals, biologicals and radiological warfare. . . . Questions of chemical and biological warfare have always been considered secret at the Pentagon and in the past were almost never considered a fit subject for military men to discuss."[12]

The House Committee on Science and Astronautics, in its report, "Research in CBR," said with unconscious irony: "CBR warfare is much misunderstood: it can be just as disagreeable as any of the other forms of destruction in vogue in the world; yet it also offers some rays of hope for a more sane approach to an activity which we wish could be classified as irrational."[13]

12 August 9, 1959.
13 "Research in CBR," *op. cit.*, p. 3.

BOTULINUS

ONE OF MANY BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS



BY BROCK CHISHOLM

RECENTLY an American general announced that the military forces of this country are now equipped to defend their people. How many people believe that?

Biological warfare has been known about for quite a long time. The Germans started experiments in it in 1936. During the war they worked very hard at it, and so did the British, Americans, Canadians and probably others. Some effective biological weapons were developed then, as well as biological defenses against some of them. Late in the war I took 235,000 dosages of a toxoid against one particularly vicious biological to England, and we administered it to troops of the United States, Britain and Canada. We let the Germans know, through their spy channels, so they would understand that we were prepared to use biologicals if they started it.

The particular biological weapon to which I am referring is an extraordinarily effective one. Within six hours it fatally poisons the central nervous system, and within twelve hours it has completely oxidized and disappeared, so it does not contaminate the ground. Unfortunately it is very painful. That is botulinus, the food poisoning toxin.

All that is needed is one good biologist some technicians, such as might work in penicillin production, and the people to distribute it. No atomic bombs, no air force, no great industrial development, no high-level mechanical know-how are needed.

What do the military authorities propose to do to protect us against a weapon of this kind? The answer is: nothing—because there is no known defense, except,

for this particular toxin, to toxoid all our people in all our countries, well in advance.

Nobody knows what weapons are available to other people. Large research staffs have been working on these biologicals since 1936. Some of the Germans who were doing so went to Britain, others to Russia and the United States. In addition, the Americans, British and Canadians developed their own stocks of biological weapons during the war, and considerable numbers of scientists have been working at the same business ever since.

Now, suppose a small country gets mad at the U.S.A., which provides plenty of opportunity! If it could be distributed completely (which is not possible), five or six ounces of botulinus toxin would be enough to kill everyone in the world. But even allowing for the fact that it is not possible to achieve anything like complete distribution, a great deal of harm could be done. Pollen from trees distributes itself very widely over considerable distances with any little breeze, and botulinus toxin, in fine powdered form, could be spread just as easily. It could, for example, be spread from a small airplane in the same way that crops are dusted with DDT—and to kill all or nearly all the people in that area, less botulinus would be needed than you would need of DDT in killing bugs.

All a small country would need would be, say, a hundred dedicated patriots willing to enter the United States unobtrusively and, to be generous, a pound or so of botulinus toxin each. On a prearranged date, at various points throughout the country, they all simultaneously go to the local airport, board a small private airplane and do their work.

Nobody would see anything happening when the toxin was "dusted"—it is too fine. Suppose a couple of airplanes started zigzagging over New York City at six o'clock in the morning. By noon the whole population would be breathing in botulinus toxin, of which a microscopic dose is fatal within six hours.

How many casualties would there be? I would guess 75% of the population of any city so treated. During the war, the method of testing was to clear large areas of prairie in the Canadian West and to stake out prairie dogs, chickens, pigs and other animals at various points, widely distributed throughout the area. The fatalities

Medical Research In Reverse

"According to a new limited-circulation Army publication ('U.S. Army Capability In the Space Age'), the Chemical Corps has pioneered in the mass rearing of insects for biological warfare. Research centers for biological warfare are located at Dugway Proving Ground, eighty miles southwest of Salt Lake City, and at Fort Detrick, in Barbara Frietchie's home town of Frederick, Maryland.

"I was told that infected insects are kept constantly available at the Fort Detrick installations. The inventory includes mosquitoes infected with yellow fever, malaria, and dengue; fleas infected with plague; ticks with tularemia, relapsing fever, and Colorado fever; houseflies with cholera, anthrax, and dysentery. The facilities at Fort Detrick include laboratories for mass breeding of pathogenic micro-organisms and greenhouses for investigating crop pathogens and various chemicals that harm or destroy plants. Studies are in progress on the most effective means of spreading plant diseases that attack wheat, barley, oats, rye, rice, and cotton.

"In addition to the use of insects as disease carriers, methods of spreading various bacilli, viruses, and toxins in the form of aerosols have been successfully developed. Last year a Fort Detrick physician, Dr. LeRoy D. Fothergill, reported at the American Medical Association meeting in San Francisco:

" 'I should like to say at this point that many of these aerobiological instruments and techniques have been developed to a remarkable state of technical perfection.' "

—Walter Schneir, "The Campaign to Make Chemical Warfare Respectable," in **The Reporter,** October 1, 1959.

were extraordinary, almost unbelievable—and with very small quantities of botulinus toxin being used.

Is anybody prepared to defend this or any other country from that kind of attack? Nobody is.

A queer situation has arisen. Biological warfare is now one of the tightest military secrets there is. Nobody mentions it; it's a taboo. And who is being fooled—potential enemies? Not at all. Only our own people are being fooled, in the interest of maintaining the myth that our military authorities can protect us against potential enemies. There is no international military secret about it at all. These secrets are internal, within our own countries.

We should start insisting that people themselves should think. We should start insisiting that we are entitled to certain information and we should not let ourselves be lied to by our own governmental authorities. The ghastly situation has arisen in which any hope for human survival rests on the shoulders of those relatively few people who have become able to think, to realize the human race is indivisible. No group will survive at the expense of others ever again. It may be that we are going to need some martyrs in the interest of the survival of the human race—that more of us should be willing to be martyrs if necessary. The total task has to be broken down into man- and woman-sized burdens. It cannot be done by the United Nations, by elections or by giving in to a dictator, a great general or any other "strong man." It has to be done by individuals, themselves sufficiently mature to function as members of the human race, people who have repudiated the limitations imposed by the accident of the place and group of their birth, and become citizens of the world.

SCIENTISTS SPEAK

ON BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARFARE

In August 1950, twenty-six scientists met in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, to discuss the threat of chemical and bacteriological weapons to humans, animals and plants. The conference was attended by some of the foremost specialists from Canda, Denmark, France, Great Britain, India, Sweden, the United States and the USSR. the following are excerpts from their statement. Couched in balanced and thoughtful terms, they comprise a document of terrifying significance, underlining the urgency of preventing all war. —*The Editors.*

BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS—microbes, viruses and their toxic products—can be delivered and dispersed in such a way that fatal or incapacitating diseases might be produced over large areas. They can be produced cheaply on a significant scale even in a country whose technological development is not highly advanced. Such weapons could be used either alone or together with others. The attack could be local or massive or could consist of individual acts of sabotage. The agent could be selected to cause a great many primary casualties, or to initiate epidemics.

Infective agents or toxins used as biological weapons would presumably have the following characteristics: (a) lethal or incapacitating when applied in small amounts; (b) remain potent when stored or dispersed; (c) the diseases they produce should not be preventable by simple sanitary precautions, or by customary practices of immunization; (d) neither the agents themselves nor the diseases they produce should be easily identifiable; (e) the diseases they produce should not be curable by customary drugs or antibiotics. Many well-known biological agents possess several or all of the foregoing attributes. The simultaneous use of two or more pathogenic organisms might assist the spread of infection and confuse diagnosis.

Chemical weapons ("poison gas" or other poisonous substances) were used in the First World War and on several subsequent occasions. In recent years new poisonous substances have been produced which are many times as active as the earlier agents. Means for their bulk production have also been improved, as have procedures for their dissemination over areas very much larger than those covered during chemical attacks in World War I. The production of chemical warfare agents could easily be disguised as peacetime chemical industry, or such industry could be quickly converted to produce them.

The so-called nerve gases, which are chemically similar to certain insecticides, are extremely potent and cheap, and cannot easily be countered with effective defensive measures. Masks and appropriate clothing can partially protect against them, but it is difficult to apply such protection to large populations; and it is unlikely that nerve gas casualties could be treated with antidotes soon enough after an attack to prevent serious consequences. New types of hallucinating agents or of poisons that give rise to transient mental disorganization, without recognizable permanent injury, have been advocated as means of "humanizing" war. Although they do not kill directly, their use could have serious consequences, because individuals or groups of people exposed to them behave unpredictably and often irresponsibly. The extremely high level of toxicity of new types of poisonous materials, as well as the means available for their delivery, permit their effects to be compared with those of certain types of atomic weapons.

The most hopeful approach to international regulation therefore seems to com-

General Argues For U.S. Right to Strike First Blow

". . . we must reject once and for all the position stated by President Roosevelt that an enemy can have the first chemical or biological blow wherever and whenever he wishes. That blow could be disastrous. We must make it clear that we consider these weapons among the normal, usable weapons of war."

—Brig. Gen. J. H. Rothschild, "Germs and Gas: the Weapons Nobody Dares Talk About," in **Harper's,** June 1959.

Austerity to Buy Germs?

"In addition to chemical weapons that can render an opponent temporarily unable to resist, [Senator J. Strom] Thurmond said, the United States is developing 'amazingly effective' biological weapons that can spread such diseases as brucellosis and yellow fever.

" 'We should be prepared for this type of warfare, too,' he said. 'We ought to be prepared even if we have to do without some pleasures and luxuries to do so.' "

—Baltimore **Sun,** Nov. 10, 1959

Pay-As-You-Breathe—or Defense Through Private Enterprise

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 22 (UPI)—The Government announced today a plan to meet the threat of a biological and chemical warfare attack.

"[The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization] said it would allocate biological and chemical warfare defense equipment to Federal, state and local agencies and also provide financial help for recruiting and training of personnel.

"The Government said it also would encourage the development and manufacture of such equipment so that private citizens can buy it from commercial dealers."

prise (a) general agreement to prohibit the use of such weapons, and (b) the renunciation of official secrecy and security controls over microbiological, toxicological . . . and chemical-biological research.

In considering how to implement the second of the foregoing proposals, we note the already excellent effects of the Report of the UN Scientific Committee on the Biological Effects of Radiation. A comparable scientific committee, or a permanent UN Scientific Commission on biological and chemical modes of warfare, could help to dispel apprehension. A subsidiary function of either group might be to investigate impartially the claims by plaintiff nations that others had openly or surreptitiously used methods of biological or chemical warfare against them.

The very existence of such a Commission might in time arouse the conscience of the individual scientists of all nations, the only ultimately effective safeguard against violations.

In agreement with the Third Pugwash Conference in Vienna, we repeat that, in that end, only the absolute prevention of war will preserve human life and civilization in the face of chemical and biological as well as nuclear weapons. No ban of a single type of weapon, no agreement that leaves the general threat of war in existence, can protect mankind sufficiently. We therefore must look forward to a day when the preservation of peace will transcend the ambitions of individual nations.

THE VIGIL

AND APPEAL AT FORT DETRICK

BY CHARLES C. WALKER

FIFTY MILES NORTH of Washington, in Maryland's Monocacy Valley, lies the city of Frederick, a town of about 25,000 people. This is Barbara Frietchie country, immortalized by John Greenleaf Whittier. Its patriotic traditions date back to Revolutionary days. What was formerly its city airport is now the site of Fort Detrick, a military installation whose red-and-white checkered water tower takes its place alongside the "clustered spires of Frederick."

Adjoining Fort Detrick will soon be a vital new military communications center. In the nearby Catoctin Mountains is the underground Pentagon, as well as Camp David, the President's mountain retreat.

Since 1942, Fort Detrick has been the U. S. research center for the development of germ warfare. This is part of a new family of weapons called "CBR weapons": chemical, biological and radiological. In recent months, the Army Chemical Corps, which operates Fort Detrick, has been seeking to convince the American people that germs and other CBR weapons are "more humane" and should be considered among the "normal, usable weapons of war."

From seven o'clock in the morning until ve at night these days, a group of people n be seen standing near the entrance Fort Detrick, keeping silent vigil. At ie head of the line is a sign which reads: VIGIL AT FORT DETRICK: An Ap-eal To Stop Preparation For Germ War-re." As hundreds of cars pass daily, some rivers wave or nod in recognition, others ass without a sign or with studied uncon-rn. Whatever their reactions, they all now the vigil is there, for it has been pt for ten hours daily since July 1, 1959. Many people find it hard to believe that ch work is going on, or that Fort Detrick the center in the United States for such tivities. Yet it is no secret, as can readily seen in the records of several Congres-onal hearings, as well as in a letter from high-ranking military spokesman in the entagon to Stewart Meacham.

The Vigil Begins

To dramatize the issue, a group of paci-sts from Philadelphia and vicinity plan-ed a vigil to be held at the entrance to ort Detrick, the symbol of our nation's rm warfare program. The Middle At-ntic Region of the Fellowship of Recon-liation agreed to assume formal sponsor-ip, and a vigil was scheduled for July 5, out of which it was hoped would come leading as to further ways to dramatize the issue: a walk to Washington, deputations to key people in Frederick and surrounding towns, continuance of the vigil itself or possibly civil disobedience.

In June, Lawrence Scott and I spent many days talking with city officials, ministers and other community leaders. In our conversations with Mayor Jacob Ramsburg and Police Chief Charles Main we encountered officials who, while decidedly not sharing our views on germ warfare, felt a responsibility to uphold the right of free speech and peaceable assembly. A special meeting was arranged with the city ministerium. Our presentation was received with courtesy and interest, if also with some slight wariness. Most of the churches number Fort Detrick personnel among their members.

From Hotel Frederick we rented a storefront as local headquarters, an ideal location near the center of town. Our first news release was carried prominently on the front page of the local paper. But attempts to talk with officials at the base were summarily refused.

Later, we learned that officials at Fort Detrick were making preparations, too. The military unit was cautioned about the "Communist outfit" that was coming, and was given bayonet drill and other training for dealing with civil disturbances and quelling riots. Base personnel were in-

On The Line At Fort Detrick

"To my surprise, as soon as I had taken my place in the line, I felt entirely at ease. There was no feeling of embarassment or need for apology. As the day advanced, the sense of clearness grew into confidence that we were 'publishing Truth'; speaking Truth to Power.

"I found its effectiveness in its **stillness;** not only in the absence of words but in the absence of movement. Its 'style,' so to speak, its force and clearness and dignity (and we felt great dignity) derived wholly from this quality. As soon as we moved or were addressed, we became nothing.

"I do not think such projects are a substitute for the more conventional, time-tried means of persuasion with which we are all familiar. I am 'fond' enough to believe that my particular assignment on the peace front is still worth the best I am able to give in the doing of it. And I am convinced that we have differing gifts; that we are not all fitted for or called to the same service. No one is to be reproached for his choice, **provided** he makes a choice. To do nothing for peace may well be the 'unforgivable sin' of our time."

—Norman J. Whitney, Secretary
Peace Education Program
American Friends Service Committee

structed to ignore the vigil. During the first several days, a group of soldiers was in constant readiness to deal with any eventuality.

More than 150 people came the weekend of July 1-5: farmers, students, teachers, teenagers, housewives, carpenters, scientists, artists, business men, ministers. They came mostly from the eastern seaboard, from Maine to Georgia. An experienced team of leaders was on hand: Albert Bigelow, Robert Gilmore, Lawrence Scott, George Willoughby, myself— ably coordinated by Stewart Meacham. Morale was high; even the weather was ideal. It could have been just another exciting and valuable project but for one thing: the realization steadily grew that in this vigil there was power, uniqueness and immense potential.

Why the Vigil Continued

The decision to continue the Appeal and Vigil, instead of undertaking other alternatives after July 5, was based on three major considerations. Foremost was the vitality of the vigil experience. The wide range of background of the participants, and the influx of many who had not participated before in such projects, offered the opportunity to inject new zest and impetus into the ongoing work of peace education and action.

Another reason for continuance was the conviction that the issue of germ warfare is one which "strikes a nerve" in public opinion. The usual arguments associated with H-bombs and missiles are less often invoked for germ and gas weapons, and there is a deep-seated revulsion many feel about deliberately spreading disease. Something basic in the human spirit is offended, as if to say, "This is blasphemy against the Creator of life." In a poll by Eugene Gilbert, "What Young People Think," young people were asked what they considered the worst offense anyone could commit. The most frequent answer: dropping gas on defenseless cities. This from young people never exposed to public controversy over its use! Germ warfare is only one tentacle of the octupus, but it *is* part of the octupus. It seemed worth exploring whether this issue could help to develop opposition to the arms race and build peace sentiment.

The third reason for continuance was the desire to experiment seriously with an effort of longer duration than the usual demonstration. What might happen if we just kept on "leaning" on the conscience of the community and the nation, if we used all the usual methods of education and persuasion that could be mustered—but made more insistent in their appeal by the steady and faithful keeping of the daily vigil? Could this become a significant new symbol for the peace movement? It was decided to venture in faith—not, as is sometimes implied in that phrase, with grim determination to make an undertaking succeed, but with the expectant belief we were embarking on an important experiment in nonviolent persuasion.

The outward form of our vigil is unostentatious. A few minutes before 7 A.M. the vigilers arrive at the corner of Seventh Street and Military Road. They erect their sign opposite the entrance to the Fort, then take their place in line along the roadside about an arm's length from each other. They stand in two-hour shifts, though the time may be shortened somewhat in very hot or very cold weather.

"We'll Pick Up Where We Left Off"

"I asked him whether he thought a broadened campaign might provoke some controversy and criticism.

" 'Yes,' he said, 'that's possible. In fact, I've told General Stubbs that he'd better expect some and if it comes he should just sit tight and not get excited and weather the storm. Then when it's over we'll pick up where we left off and continue the campaign.' "

—Walter Schneir, reporting an interview with the Chemical Corps' unofficial briefing officer, in "The Campaign to Make Chemical Warfare Respectable," **The Reporter,** Oct. 1, 1959.

As hundreds of cars pass by on the way to work, each driver is subject to the careful scrutiny of military police at the entrance. Throughout the day there is constant traffic: tradesmen, truckers, repairmen, military officials, visitors. Three busloads of children pass in and out on school days. Security police cars cruise and dart about constantly.

To stand in silence for as much as six hours a day—praying, thinking, or just standing quietly—is an experience to quicken one's mind and imagination. It involves a substantial investment of physical, emotional and spiritual energy. Doubtless one reason for effectiveness of the vigil is the silence, the absence of words and of movement. Another is its persistence; participants have stood in the hot July sun, in the pouring rain and in the raw cold winter mornings.

One afternoon, soon after the project started, a man walked into the downtown Vigil center and identified himself as a local physician. (We later learned he is a member of one of the most prominent and respected families in Frederick.) He said he was deeply disturbed over the question of germ warfare and, though he didn't know who the sponsors of the vigil might be, he wanted us to know he was opposed to preparing for germ warfare. He was invited to the public meeting scheduled for that evening. To this meeting came a man who characterized himself as an "evangelical Christian minister" who sought to convince the group that war is the will of God and to work for peace is to pursue a mirage. This aroused our group to such moving responses that it proved to be an inspirational occasion.

Next morning just before the usual 6:15 meditation time, the doctor walked in and said: "You people make it hard for me to sleep at night. I think I want to join you in this vigil." For two consecutive mornings he joined the meditation and the vigil.

From the beginning, door-to-door visitation has also been carried on in Frederick, and there have been home meetings, public meetings, paid advertisements in the newspapers, special radio programs, a meeting in the park and deputations to key community leaders. Some have been impelled to go to Washington to talk with government officials. Newspaper, radio and television coverage has been gratifying. Editorials and feature articles have appeared in newspapers and magazines.

Norman Whitney, Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, wrote: "One of the leading industrialists of the region, whose business is 95% 'defense,' invited an interview. Planned for ten minutes, it lasted forty-five. At its close he said: 'This has been worth my whole day. No one ever showed me this point of view before. I've got a lot of new thinking to do. The town is stupid to try to ignore you. Everyone ought to be trying to talk with you!' "

Other Community Reactions

A worker at the base said in one conversation: "I'm in the middle. I'm a church member and I believe in peace. But I make twice as much now as I ever did, and even if it is blood money it's paying for the house, it's sending my son through college and I give generously to good causes, especially my church."

One woman declared vehemently: "I'd support my country no matter what. I'd kill 10,000 enemies to save 10 American lives."

A churchwoman said: "I was never convinced we did the right thing when we dropped the atomic bomb on Japan. I would rather my son had been killed in the war than have such a thing happen to defenseless people."

One-third of the homes in Frederick have been visited. This provides valuable information on how the community thinks and feels about the vigil. It also provides the townspeople with a flesh-and-blood encounter with a representative of the vigil, dispelling somewhat the unfortunate images often associated with pacifists and other advocates of various and sundry nostrums for improving the world.

At this writing, one must say: the decisive results are not yet in. No other person has taken action comparable to the dramatic stand of the doctor. Others have told us they are glad we came. A bus driver seems to get a kick out of filling up the sign post holes with rocks, mud or mustard. Twice manure has been strewn about. On the other hand, in many ways we have come to know that serious attention and thought have been given to the vigil and what it stands for. This kind of persuasion doesn't bear fruit overnight; it takes time and patient persistence.

The Church Begins to Respond

There has been a growing response across the nation. Twelve faculty members of the Andover-Newton Theological School in Massachusetts sent a public letter of support, as did 189 women leaders of the United Church of Christ. National and local organizations have passed supporting resolutions. On October 20, thirty-five Christian ministers took part in the vigil as a special observance, under the leadership of the Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, well-known Methodist minister. Participants have come from at least 18 colleges. By December 1959, more than 500 people had taken part, many of them returning home afterwards with new zeal for local efforts directed against these hideous weapons. For example, in August, several vigil participants from southern Chester County (Pa.) persuaded the Kennett Square Council of Churches to hold a special meeting where color slides of the Detrick vigil were shown. A 36-hour Vigil For Peace was conducted at a community center with 75 people joining in the observance—an unusual turnout in summer. With it was held an exhibit of peace education materials and projects. News coverage was excellent. A local peace group is now in the making.

Lawrence Scott, who served as coordinator for the voyage of the *Golden Rule*, has performed the same task on the scene at Frederick, bringing to the Vigil his clear thinking and high dedication. A surprising number of people have stayed for long periods, often several weeks. From the beginning there have been persistent rumors in Frederick that we get paid as much as $25 a day, each of us, to stand on the vigil! Little enough money comes in to keep the center open and pay for normal publicity expenses, however. For those "on the line," it is all giving and in earnest. None get paid. Groups in other parts of the country are considering setting up similar vigils. Articles on the issue of germ and chemical warfare appear with more frequency.

The vigil has continued daily for six months. If it has succeeded, it is only partly through wise planning and fortunate timing. It has been enriched by the many who have come and given of their best to it. Cheerful acceptance of group discipline, shared fellowship in cooperative living, readiness to help with the routines of office work, imaginative communication with the people of Frederick in numerous visits and conversations—most of all, the thoughts and prayers of many, many hours on vigil—these have blessed this undertaking beyond any calculation of those who would try to assess it purely in organizational terms.

How can the mind and conscience of America be aroused in face of such a threat to survival as germ warfare? How can the energies and talents that go into a Fort Detrick be channeled to constructive ends? How can we communicate more persuasively with others who also see the peril and are baffled or confused? These questions are first of all addressed to ourselves. To paraphrase George Fox, we must speak with our lives.

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

Fellowship
PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

JAN. 1, 1960
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SAHARA PROTEST TEAM 'DETAINED' BY FRENCH IN UPPER VOLTA

An international "team" of twenty that set out on December 6 from Accra, Ghana, in an attempt to reach the site of a proposed French nuclear-bomb test in the Sahara, was reported "detained" by French authorities 16 miles inside the French territory of Upper Volta. While reports were incomplete, it appeared that members of the team were not under formal arrest, but that French authorities had immobilized the truck and two Land Rovers that were their transportation.

The project, which was initiated by a group of British pacifists, has won wide support in Africa. Eleven Ghanians and a representative each from Nigeria and Basutoland were in the party. The Basutoland member is the President of the National Congress of that country, and reported that he could have brought 150 volunteers with him had money and space been available.

In Ghana itself prominent members of the government have actively supported the project, while insisting that it was not officially a government project and requiring that Ghanian participants sign documents certifying that they were going of their own free will. K. A. Gbedemah, Ghana's Finance Minister, was the principal speaker at the 6 a.m. rally that attracted 1,000 people to the team's start, and at which Accra's Mayor E. C. Quaye presided. Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah is reported to have contributed more than $1,000 to the $25,000 raised in Ghana on the team's behalf.

Non-African members of the team include Esther Peter and Pierre Martin, of France; Michael Scott, Michael Randle and Francis Hoyland, of England; and Bayard Rustin and William Sutherland of the United States. Sutherland, who served a prison term as a CO during World War II, has lived in Ghana for six years and has been secretary to Mr. Gbedemah. FOR Secretary Emeritus A. J. Muste has also been in Ghana as consultant to the team representing with Rustin the American Committee for Nonviolent Action.

Observers say that the project has been widely reported and discussed throughout Africa, and that parallel demonstration have focused attention on the world problem of war as well as the immediate question of the French tests. While there has been an acknowledged fear that the sentiment might be diverted into mainly anti-French and anti-white channels, they feel that the presence of white participants in the project, including two

(Continued on next page)

To Aldermaston Again

In Great Britain, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is planning to conduct another march to the nuclear arms center in Aldermaston over the Easter weekend, April 15-18. Americans who plan to visit at that time are urged to participate. Last year there were groups from many different countries but none from the United States. CND leaders believe the demonstration will be one of the largest ever seen in England.

A month later, on May 16, the British Fellowship of Reconciliation is holding a Plan for Peace meeting at the Royal Albert Hall, at which the main speakers will by Martin Niemöller and Donald Soper.

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

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Sahara Protest *(cont'd)*

French citizens, as well as the continued emphasis on nonviolence, would help to balance any such feelings.

While the Sahara project has been widely reported in the African press, almost nothing about it has appeared in major newspapers in this country.

Andre Trocmé Honored by Bethany Seminary

The Rev. André Trocmé, IFOR secretary now on tour in the United States, had the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred on him by Bethany Biblical Seminary, Elgin, Illinois, on December 7. The citation read by Dean William Beahm, after reviewing Trocmé's activities before, during and since the war, including his service for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, concluded with this description of the French pacifist: "A man of forgiving love in the midst of hatred, a reconciler in the midst of estrangement, a voice of hope in the midst of despair, a man of God knee deep in human need."

Uphaus Begins Jail Term

On December 14, FOR member Willard Uphaus was committed to jail for a year as a result of his adamant refusal to furnish the attorney general of New Hampshire with the names of guests who stayed at World Fellowship, a summer resort of which Dr. Uphaus is executive director. The attorney general has stated that the list of names was necessary to his investigation of subversion in the state. Dr. Uphaus, a supporter of the Communist-controlled World Peace Congress, has maintained that it would be a violation of his religious principles thus to "subject innocent people to public scorn."

On the same day, a petition signed by 112 civic and religious leaders, appealing to Attorney General Louis C. Wyman to ask for suspension of Dr. Uphaus' sentence, was sent by FOR Co-Secretary John M. Swomley Jr. Among signers of the petition were Martin Luther King Jr., James Luther Adams, John C. Bennett, Alexander Meiklejohn, Norman Thomas and Congressmen Byron L. Johnson and William H. Meyer. The appeal was rejected.

The Uphaus case began in January 1956 when Dr. Uphaus was cited for contempt by the Superior Court in Concord, N.H. It was subsequently appealed and confirmed in a 5-4 decision by the U. S. Supreme Court last June.

CO's Protest Brings ROTC Review

A recommendation that compulsory ROTC be made voluntary at the University of California was made on Oct. 26 by a Regents subcommittee following consideration of a petition circulated by a freshman, Frederick L. Moore Jr. This information was received after a news story about Moore's protest appeared in FELLOWSHIP (Nov. 15 PIE). Moore, an Air Force Colonel's son, who fasted for 59 hours last October in protest against enforced military instruction at the university, collected over 1000 signatures from the student body indicating approval of his conscientious stand.

The issue received wide public notice with articles appearing in some 90 different newspapers across the country. On the campus, one of Moore's classmates, Richard Casey, decided he could no longer participate in the ROTC program, and was forced to withdraw from the university and forfeit a $400 scholarship. Fred Moore resigned from the university after conducting his one-man protest.

NEWS from the peace front

A Swedish action group to oppose he manufacture and testing of nuclear eapons has been formed following deands by Swedish military and political ircles that the country become an atomic-armed neutral." Containing ormer members of both Socialist and iberal parties the group has emerged s an independent faction, the Proressive Union, which will work against he newly suggested armament policy n the political level.

The Swedish government, which as not yet taken a stand on the atomic ssue, is expected to ask the national egislature for a nuclear research grant arly this year.

Other policies of the new party inlude co-existence with Communism nd aid to under-developed countries.

* * *

Discrimination in airline hiring pracices was opposed in New York last nonth when members of the Congress f Racial Equality together with trade nion leaders distributed 10,000 leafets urging passengers to "express disapproval of undemocratic hiring pracices" and to "use only those airines...which have broken the color arrier."

One middle-aged woman reading the eaflet promptly exchanged her ticket rom an airline that discriminates in iring to TWA, which has employed Negroes as stewardesses.

* * *

A Soviet "package" compromise olution for banning nuclear weapons ests was proposed in Geneva last nonth in an effort to end stalemated onference negotiations. The plan reterated USSR demands that three Soviet bloc nations, three Western countries, and one neutral state make up he control commission to oversee nuclear inspection. Accordingly, U.S. and British acceptance of this demand would bring about Soviet concession o Western proposals on staffing and inancing the control organization. Although in the past the West has opposed the three-three-one control commission formula, since it would place an "unacceptable" burden on the neutral nation, still the plan as a whole was considered as appreciably narrowing "outstanding differences" between the East and West.

* * *

FOR member Martin Luther King Jr. seeks to expand his work for integration by moving next February from Montgomery, Alabama, to Atlanta, Georgia. Serving as co-pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church with his father, Dr. King expects to have more time and be in a better location to direct the work of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he heads.

* * *

Plans are in the making for an American Committee to support Danilo Dolci, the "Italian Gandhi" who has dedicated himself to a nonviolent crusade against poverty among the destitute peasants of Sicily. The Committee

(Continued on next page)

CHURCH TOO? Recent issues of FELLOWSHIP have noted the efforts of letter-writers to persuade manufacturers of breakfast cereals to abandon toy ICBMs and other weapons as premiums. Philip F. Mayer of Swarthmore, Pa., offers this photo of a church in Media, Pa., as evidence of a need for letters to another quarter as well.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please allow 4 weeks—supply both old and new address.

is being organized by an ad hoc group headed by FOR member Gelston McNeil, 26A Devereux St., Utica 2, N. Y.

Members of the committee will raise funds to support a social and agricultural center in Sicily and aid in finding qualified volunteers to serve with Dolci in his work.

McNeil recommends that those interested in learning more about Dolci should read Dolci's book, *Report from Palermo* (Orion Press $4). The book may be ordered through Fellowship Publications and will be reviewed in an early issue of FELLOWSHIP.

LIT NOTES

A limited supply of copies of *The Early Church and the World* by C. J. Cadoux is now available. Long out-of-print, this book has no rival as a scholarly study of Primitive Christianity and war, and it abounds with quotations from the Church Fathers and other ancient documents. Price per copy, $5, from Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. Also available from the same address are copies of Lewis Mumford's article, *The Morals of Extermination,* reprinted from *The Atlantic,* at 10¢ each.

* * *

American students can combine language studies with peace interests by subscribing to *Via Pacis* (60¢ a year), the European Youth Magazine of the International FOR. Published quarterly, this new 36-page magazine carries articles in German and French as well as English. The editor of *Via Pacis* ("The Way of Peace") is young Danish pacifist Svend Gaarn-Larsen. Subscriptions may be sent c/o Alfred Hassler, FOR Box 271, Nyack, N.Y., and the magazine will be mailed direct from London

* * *

Copies of the sermon, "Politics for Christians," by FOR member Anthony R. Perrino (mentioned in November 1 PIE) are available from the author at St. Paul's Methodist Church, Spokane, Washington.

* * *

Worth reading: "Remilitarization of Japan" by John G. Roberts in *The Nation,* Dec. 19, tells how the United States is helping Japan's *zaibatsu* to circumvent that country's constitutional renunciation of war and embark on an ambitious six-year program of munitions production. "Germ Warfare and Pacifism" in *Concern* (Box 871, Nashville 2, Tenn.) comprises two articles on the Fort Detrick Vigil -- one by Repton Merritt carping at the pacifist position, the other a trenchant argument for the FOR's opposition to germ warfare by FOR Southern Regional Secretary James M. Lawson.

Power for Peace -- the Pacifist Way

"In our atomic age the playing with the idea of war as a possible way out ceases to be real, but still it might grow into an obsession. It seems negative and simple to bring the pacifist witness to bear on the political situation of today, but it is the one thing which can free the imagination of the politicians and help them to devise the creative social, political and economic arrangements that are required. As long as the politician thinks that in the last resort war is still a possibility, he is unable to take the risks which peace requires and falls back in the old pattern of thought that armament could mean power for peace. If we...seek the power for peace elsewhere, it will be more realistic than the neurotic policy of deterrence. We shall not solve the whole of the world's problems, but if only we can learn from each other how love and reconciliation open the right way in concrete situations, we may well be thankful." --*Prof. Hannes de Graaf, Chairman European IFOR Committee at IFOR Conference, Stainach, Austria*

Christian LOVE in History

BY GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

By the power of their convictions, Christians have transformed or eliminated many offensive institutions and practices. They have done this in history by bringing moral pressure to bear on others, including those who do not share these convictions. I believe that a brief reminder of some of the facts may hearten us for our own task of affecting international relations so that the institution of war may be abolished.

This task, broadly speaking, is the abjuring of the use of force and violence, and its replacement by a more excellent way—by consent, by respect for minorities, by tolerance, by humanity, by tenderness toward sufferers, by the redemption of the wrongdoer: all of them manifestations of Christian love.

The Puritans of 17th century England affirmed this ultimately Christian motivation in the political sphere, in the basis of parliamentary procedure and democratic government. The conception of legal toleration by the State, first of religious toleration and then of toleration more generally, was influenced by the Christian tolerance first practiced mutually in the Puritan congregations. The radical Puritans not only claimed liberty of conscience for themselves, they granted it to one another, and on positive Christian grounds.

Both Christian faith and Christian practice they perceived to be essentially voluntary things, so that persecution crosses their very nature. Because it is freely given, redemption in Christ demands that those who accept it be free. Compulsion in religion not only makes hypocrites of the unwilling, it bruises and insults the willing mind. Convictions such as these, after many years' endurance of persecution, had their share in bringing about the Toleration Act of 1689; and that Act may be regarded as the beginning of a movement through which the use of force in English law to inhibit, punish or control social parctice has been persistently reduced. It would not be fanciful to see some relation between the Toleration Act of 1689 and the fact that in Britain (save, alas, in Northern Ireland) the policeman goes unarmed.

We shall do well to remind ourselves how recently—by an historian's measurement—persecution has been abandoned (where it has), and after what painful and long, drawn-out struggles. The burnings and tortures at Belsen or Auschwitz, or, for that matter, at Hiroshima are less startling, though not less horrible, when we realize that in Britain, though the last heretic was burned in 1611, a witch was burned in 1708 and a murderer (a woman) was burned in 1789; that torture was still legal and in use in Baden in 1831; and that in England hanging still took place in public until 1868. It is a long road from mere revenge and vendetta to a justice less wild in retribution, from this to contentment if the wrongdoer can be restrained and potential wrongdoers deterred, and from this to an active concern for the wrongdoer's redemption and for the re-

form of the social conditions which lead to crime.

The end of this road is by no means yet in sight. We all too easily fail to see, for instance, that the Nürnberg trials after the last war, with all their faultiness, were, at least in form, an immense advance on any treatment previously meted out to a vanquished enemy. So also "coexistence" as a newly recognized international principle may to some extent correspond to the "toleration" within a single state during an earlier generation.

The Evangelical Motive

Many secular motives contribute to the recognition of national toleration or international coexistence: indifference, force of circumstances, fear of consequences. The gradual spread, despite many setbacks, of a more humane spirit in much of the world during the last four centuries owes much to our classical heritage and to the Renaissance as well as much to Christianity and the Reformation. Yet, in face of the recent reaction against humanism, as a form of liberalism fundamentally secular rather than religious, I deliberately included "humanity" in the above list of manifestations of Christian love. Let me quote from three Puritan tracts all published in London in 1647. Christ's rule, says one, is "to winne men by instruction, and not to force men by destruction."

"Compulsion," says another, "can no more gain the heart, than the fish can love the fisherman."

A third writer says that he would rejoice more "to rescue one poor soul (in gentleness and love) out of the prison of a corrupt opinion, than keep all the hereticks under heaven, in the ward where Pharoah's prisoners are bound, till their feet are hurt in the stocks, and the iron enter their soul."

There is an evangelical, a missionary quality in the writing of these men which is altogether different from merely humanist productions. These men, one of whom was Solicitor-General to the Commonwealth of England and another Steward to Oliver Cromwell, have a humanity which is Christian in inspiration. They are concerned "to rescue . . . out . . . prison."

The Quakers, especially, went under a perpetual sense of suffering for, and with, what they called the seed of God imprisoned and suffering within men, and believed God called them to give themselves utterly to working for its release. The early Quakers knew much of the inside of prisons in the literal sense; but George Fox, their leader, wrote to them so to behave that "your imprisonments will reach to the prisoned, that the persecutor prisons in himself"; and looking back over his own life, he could say triumphantly, "There was never any prisons or sufferings that I was in but still it was for the bringing multitudes more out of prison"—in a spiritual sense, he means.

It was, perhaps, this inveterate habit of thinking of men as spiritually imprisoned which led the Quakers, some generations later, to concern themselves so deeply with penal reform and the treatment of the insane. Most of us have no conception how great a revolution has taken place in these spheres. This revolution was begun, and for long was carried on, by a few Christian men and women wholly committed to their work—fearless, unassuming, seeking no reward for themselves, and unwearing in their faith, patience and endurance.

To say this is not to dramatize them. In the vulgar sense there is little dramatic about Elizabeth Fry, her "Ladies' Prison Committees" and her rules for prisoners' self-government and self-help. These rules were remarkable in that no penalties were attached to them.

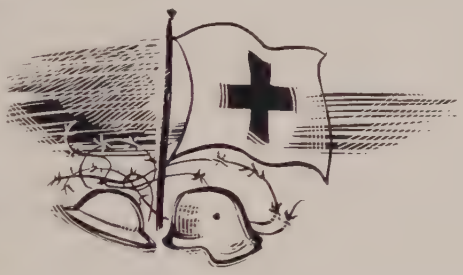
Nor was there anything dramatic about her less well-known predecessor, the teetotal, vegetarian and Sabbatarian John Howard and his dryly matter-of-fact book on *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales,* which he visited methodically, riding about forty miles a day.

What is striking about both these practical reformers, each of them a practicing Christian, is their unremitting persistence and the universality of their humanity. From 1818 till her final illness in 1843 Elizabeth Fry "visited and organized *every* convict-ship that carried women prisoners to the colonies." When acts for the amelioration of prison conditions were passed, John Howard had copies printed and sent, at his own expense, to *every* prison in the

ountry; and on his tomb at Kherson, in Russia, where he died of plague, is (or was) the simple inscription addressed to he reader: "Whoever thou art, thou tandest at the tomb of thy friend."

The work of penal reform which John Howard and Elizabeth Frey set in motion was but one form of the abjuring of force nd violence in social relations. It included he reduction of the number of offenses o be punished by either capital or corporal punishment, and the mitigation of corporal punishment when still administered.

Nor, of course, does penal reform stand lone. It was accompanied by a concern or the insane and for children. When William Tuke founded the Retreat at York n 1796, the insane were prisoners—hained prisoners—of the madhouse. And hildren, when the Earl of Shaftesbury tarted the movement rom which (after 55 ears) sprang the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty o Children, were virtually prisoners of industry. Indeed, alongside the demonstration of Christian love in the treatment of criminals and the insane, the concept and practice of social relations in both family and school have been transformed.



With these changes, revolutionary however gradual, there has also been, inevitably, a change in the position of women; men have had to learn to respect them as persons in their own right. Not one of these battles is yet fully won; many forces besides Christian convictions are at work; but in every case Christian convictions have played an active part both in changing public opinion and in shaping parliamentary legislation to express this.

A hundred years ago, at the battle of Solferino, the Genevese philanthropist, Henri Dunant, founded an organization which has made the Swiss flag with the colors reversed—a white flag with a Red Cross—familiar to multitudes outside Switzerland. Howard and Elizabeth Fry were concerned for civil prisoners, nationally; Dunant, after witnessing the appalling sufferings at Solferino, was concerned for prisoners of war, internationally. Dunant's cause did not meet with instant success; it was not until 1882 that a branch of the Red Cross organization was founded in the United States. As late as 1898 Britain was insisting on the exclusion of Red Cross rules from maritime warfare. And in the last war, the Red Cross Convention for prisoners of war was still not ratified by either Russia or Japan.

The work initiated by Henri Dunant raises a moral problem. The Christian compassion behind the Red Cross we all acknowledge; but a society for the organization of humane laws of war? For this was its purpose. Whether or not in wartime we have subscribed to the Red Cross, we in the IFOR are likely to be sensitive to the danger of "humanizing," and thus in effect perpetuating, an evil institution instead of exposing it in all its viciousness with determination to abolish it. Is not the Red Cross in effect the handmaid of war?

This is indeed a real issue; but it is not a new one. As we have been reminded, reforms are nearly always brought about piecemeal and by degrees over a very long period. The eventual abolition of capital punishment is gained by agitation to reduce the number of crimes regarded as capital; the possibility of an "open" prison comes about only as the "closed" prison is gradually humanized; the "free" type of education is reached through the reduction of confinement, and the rules and penalties, in the traditional school.

The Slow Road of Love

If it be said that schools and prisons, while not equally "good," are not evil in themselves, while war is wholly evil and to be abolished, I agree. But slavery is another institution now seen to be wholly evil. Insofar as it was abolished (and in three countries it is still legal: in Saudi Arabia, Oman and Yemen), it was in the same slow and undermining way as were the other evils we have considered, and fundamentally with the same motives and

methods. Slaves, too, are "prisoners"; and it was, again, Christian compassion and humanity which worked against slavery, and kept on working until, little by little, it was abolished. The American Quaker, John Woolman, whose name is outstanding in this matter, was (in a phrase of Rufus Jones') "palpitatingly sensitive to human suffering." He was also as "universal" as John Howard: do you know his noted phrase, "to turn all we possess into the channel of universal love becomes the business of our lives"? The first American society for the abolition of slavery was founded in 1755; it was 108 years before all slaves in America were at last free. In Britain the pace was quicker, but there also the series first of petitions and later of bills presented to Parliament over a period of 55 years teaches the same lesson: namely, that if evil is to be overcome by Christian love, it will take a very long time.

But in reference to the question raised by the Red Cross, the many *centuries* which elapsed before Christians began directly to attack the institution of slavery *at all* are what is relevant. We are inclined, if we think about it, to stand aghast that the Christian consicence was insensitive to this evil for so long. But in fact it was not as insensitive as we suppose. "The essence of slavery," says A. D. Lindsay, "is that it is based on force, on the denial of the rights and personality of the slave. . . . But St. Paul says that both slaves and masters are to ignore these assumptions. The slaves are to serve their masters as if they were serving Christ; and Philemon is to receive back Onesimus 'not now as a slave but above a slave—a brother beloved both in the flesh and in the Lord.'"

This was to "humanize" slavery, was it not? Not to abolish it. Yet "to act like that" was also, as Lindsay comments, "to undermine the whole institution of slavery . . . accepting it as an institution" but "giving the lie to the assumptions . . . on which it is based."

The implication which Lindsay draws from all this is that "the best way to reform institutions is to accept their obligations and at the same time to act better than these demand." I cannot say whether he knew or remembered it or not, but he is in fact quoting a second-century anonymous Christian apologist who writes that "Christians obey the laws prescribed but in their own lives *surpass the laws.*" We are "to act better than these demand." "If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?" "If ye love them that love you, what grace, what graciousness is there in that?" "Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go two with him." The Christian love which "turns the flank of recalcitrant institutions" always has something of this *two,* this *more,* this *extra,* "always *abounding* in the work of the Lord" with an abundance, an overflow, which has its origin in the love of God Himself.

The Abolition of Sovereignty

If we look at international relations, and the task of the IFOR in the world today, in the light of these historical studies, I believe that one of the next stages for which we should work is the abandonment of sovereignty as an essential mark of the state. Though assumed as self-evident, sovereignty is relatively new, dating only from the 16th century. In another sense, as a general idea applied to the State, it is very old. The husband, the father, the schoolmaster, the jailer, the madhouse keeper, the slaveowner were all held to have absolute authority over the persons within their control. Likewise the abbot, the bishop, the archbishop, the pope were held to represent God, as in the sixteenth century did the monarch—"the king is in the room of God," said William Tyndale, "and his law is God's law." In process of time, Parliament or the modern State have similarly laid claim to an absolute authority or sovereignty. "Sovereignty is an exclusive or an all-or-nothing theory." The states holding the theory most consistently in reference to internal affairs are the totalitarian regimes, and they have taught us that at this level the theory of sovereignty within a state must be abandoned. We have yet to learn that it must be abandoned no less in international relations—not only because it will no longer work, but because here also it is an affront to God, who alone is Sovereign; to Christ, who alone is Lord.

As members of the IFOR we should, refore, welcome paragraphs 53 and 54 the provisional study document entitled *ristians and the Prevention of War,* ued by the World Council of Churches. esponsibilities which hitherto have been sidered exclusively as functions of na- nal sovereignty," the writers say, "must internationalized"; "the politically onomous nation-state is no longer the t word in the organization of society."

n paragraph 66 of the same document, writers recommend that "if all-out war uld occur, Christians should urge a se fire, if necessary on the enemy's ms, and resort to nonviolent resistance," d in a note appended to the chapter ntaining this paragraph it is expressly ognized that "nonviolent resistance or n-resistance may mean decades of tryanny d suffering [but] all-out war . . . might less justifiable than even the acceptance defeat under the conditions imposed by yrannic victor."

In a document compiled by a group con- ning only four pacifists out of fourteen is is a remarkable admission. How much implied by the word "justifiable" is not ade clear. It may be intended in a sense rely pragmatic. I should like to see the tification of the acceptance of defeat ken up and given a theological basis. ne prophet Jeremiah might contribute the argument.

The Cost of Christian Love

The suffering likely to issue from defeat the enemy's terms (ruling out of con- deration, which we have no right to do, transforming power if accepted as a monstration of Christian love) is now mmonly spoken of, in reference to the rt of war envisaged, as slavery rather than artyrdom. It troubles me that to so many hristians enslavement should be a state ey cannot contemplate, a state worse an death. No one is likely to regard en- avement with equanimity. But, after all, ry many, possibly even most, Christians the Church's history *have* been slaves, r something very like it; and in those untries, domination by which it is as- umed would mean enslavement, there are ill Christians.

When I have made much of the demonstration of Christian love in working for the abolition of slavery, am I now inconsistent in suggesting that the demonstration of Christian love may mean a readiness to accept a form of enslavement? I do not think so. Christians work for the diminution of suffering generally; yet the true Christian knows that he must be willing himself to accept suffering cheerfully, vicariously and redemptively; and slavery is but a form, albeit a very terrible form, of human suffering. The fact is that the undermining of the institution of slavery in the New Testament goes much farther than in those passages that refer to it directly. In the New Testament, the Christian ministry is described again and again as a form of enslavement: "We preach not ourselves but Christ Jesus as Lord, and ourselves your slaves, for Jesus' sake."

"And Jesus called them to him and saith unto them: Ye know that they who are accounted to rule over the nations lord it over them, and their great ones tyrannize over them. But so shall it not be among you. But whosoever will be great among you shall wait upon you; and whosoever of you will be first shall be everyone's slave. For even the Son of Man came not to be waited on but to do the waiting; and to give his life, to redeem many." So far as I can see, this contrast between the ways of Christ's disciples and the ways of the rulers of the nations is not meant to be a wall of partition which nothing, not even the transforming power of Christ, can break down. It involves His disciples in a way of life which will be not only toward one another within the Church, but eventually toward the rulers of the nation themselves. If that is so, I think we must work for the abandonment of sovereignty internationally as well as within the nation; and if this should bring about enslavement, the acceptance of it willingly and redemptively would after all be in line with the main burden of the Christian ethic.

Not that I think that any nation is at present ready to abandon its sovereignty; but no group, in family, school, jail, what you will, ever has been ready at the first; yet Christian love has been demonstrated; and, by those faithful to their convictions, in time, transformations, revolutions have been accomplished.

BOOKS

DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE by Stephen King-Hall. Fellowship 1959, 234 pp., $2.75.

This is an extraordinary book written by an exceptional man, and for both reasons the publisher should be congratulated for having made this case against war available to the American public.

Many will be surprised that anyone with Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's background could have written such a book as *Defense in the Nuclear Age*. Not only was he a naval officer himself in World War I and II but members of his family for generations have distinguished themselves in the service of the Royal Navy.

How then could this military man have finally reached the conclusion that war in the classical sense is no longer rational? That military defense against thermonuclear weapons is no longer possible, not only for a small, highly industrialized and thickly populated island such as the United Kingdom, but for any nation at all? And that unilateral disarmament for his country offers the best means of survival? The truth is that the first reaction to the nuclear explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the most perceptive military experts was essentially the same.

I was in Manila when these two bombs were exploded, and the immediate reaction among the informed from General MacArthur down, almost without exception, was that the violent characteristics of warfare among the great powers were no longer feasible; that the old concepts of war were forever outmoded. These conclusions were perhaps best expressed by America's three most distinguished soldiers: Eisenhower, "There is no alternative to peace"; MacArthur, "War has become a Frankenstein to destroy both sides"; Bradley, "The central problem of our time . . . is how to employ human intelligence for the salvation of mankind."

It has required thousands of publicists, hundreds of millions of propaganda dollars and more than fourteen years of rumors, half-truths and falsehoods to sell the so-called free world (and the sale, fortunately, has not yet been finalized) that incineration of the human race is rational policy, even preferable, under certain conditions. *Defense In the Nuclear Age* is most welcome antidote to this war ma ness.

From a military point of view this is tightly written book and thoroughly sou There simply is no military defense in t thermonuclear age. Individual safety a national security both can only be achie through nonviolent methods and negot tions at all levels, especially at the Summ Limited warfare, as the author points o is impossible once the propaganda dogs war are unleashed. A hundred years total war for unlimited objectives sho be adequate proof of this.

The necessity for unilateral disarmame as proposed by the author is, however, l convincing. He obviously has not broken through the "thought barriers" the "cold war" nearly so effectively as has in the case of the "hot" one. His wor psychologically is still divided into t good and bad, the true and false, the f and slave. And he apparently would rath win a cold war, even including having country occupied, than to establish a operative world which he considers possible. He not only accepts the old cli that so-called Communism is totally e but is also incapable of reform, and the fore must be destroyed root, branch a tree.

This two-dimensional mental attitude most unfortunate for a number of reaso First, it is not a correct evaluation; seco there is only the rarest possibility that t so-called free world will ever accept u lateral disarmament; and third, unilate disarmament is not necessary in order avoid a "hot" war. General and comple disarmament through international ne tiations is entirely feasible and even pro able as the leaders become increasing aware that "there is no alternative peace." Given a period of patience, a mented by a real effort of internatio understanding, genuine peace is possibl

Despite these deficiencies this book serves to be read widely, and, I hope, w receive the closest possible study, especia by the "power elite." It is vitally importa that this be done because the "pow elite" here and similar groups in all tions determine the policies and make t

isions for peace or war, life or death, all of us everywhere.

Granted a protracted period of internaal nonviolence such as the author adates, international fear and hate may expected to be replaced by international peration through the United Nations spite of the continued efforts of the rmongers and vested interests to prevent

—Hugh B. Hester

When Conscience Set Sail

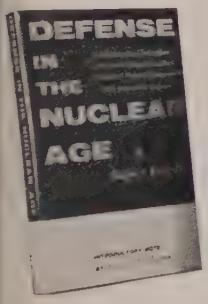
E Voyage of the Golden Rule by bert Bigelow. Doubleday 1959. 286 pp., 95.

n September 1957, the United States nounced a series of nuclear tests to be ducted the following spring in the rshall Islands. To the majority of ericans, the announcement was routine —evidence that our government was going ahead with preparations which, we were assured, were "necessary to protect the free world."

But a growing number of people were deeply troubled. "Individual conviction was joining to individual conviction. . . . At first a whisper, but swelling in volume; the voice of conscience was speaingk out."

Thus does Albert Bigelow, captain of the ketch *Golden Rule*, describe the growth of a concern which, for several years, had been seeking ways to make itself heard. In *The Voyage of the Golden Rule*, he describes how this concern finally found a focus and a meaningful form of expression in the decision of a small group of men supported by hundreds of others, to sail a small boat into the proscribed nuclear testing area of the western Pacific.

"The idea," he explains, "was a natural.



DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

by Stephen King-Hall

"This book by a former Royal Navy officer and member of Parliament is likely to become not only the most controversial but the most challenging attack on orthodox defense policies to come out of the West."

—*The Washington Post and Times Herald*

"If there is any exit from our dilemma, I suspect that it will be found in the long run to lie down the path to which King-Hall points."

—Walter Millis in *Saturday Review*

These quotes are from the first two reviews of *Defense in the Nuclear Age* that have appeared since the American edition was published. Have you bought your copy yet?

234 pp., $2.75.

And don't forget

THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE

by Richard B. Gregg

This newly revised edition of the standard book on nonviolence contains material on nonviolence in World War II and after. An indispensable companion to the King-Hall book.

192 pp., $2.50.

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS • Box 271, Nyack, New York

A white sail, a tiny speck in the vast blue Pacific, moving westward . . . persistently, slowly, day after day, week after week, on and into the bomb explosion area. . . . The act would speak lounder than words."

Few people have not heard something about the voyage of Golden Rule, but for many the facts are meager and their understanding is therefore limited. Now, through the moving personal account of one of the principals, it is possible to follow this action of "considerate disobedience" from its inception as an idea in the mind of a British Quaker to its culmination and aftermath. Bigelow tells his story simply, but whether he is writing of the deep conviction of those who initiated and supported the protest voyage, describing the theory of nonviolence upon which it is based, or recreating the high drama on a storm at sea, a purely subjective struggle with self, or the inactivity of sixty days in a Honolulu jail, there is a sincerity in his straightforward prose and a profound faith in his fellowman which will move many to sober reflection.

"We are not telling you WHAT to think, but we are saying, in the most dramatic way we can, that there is a NEED to think." This, in the final analysis, is the real significance of the *Golden Rule*—that her voyage was a symbol which caught the attention of countless people throughout the world and forced them to re-examine their basic assumptions. It "focused the rays of conscience at the center of the problem—the nuclear tests." For the first time, a tremendous number of individuals were brought face-to-face with the far-reaching implications of our present policies and felt a need to share the moral responsibility.

"But what," they asked despairingly, "can one person do?"

The answer to this question is implicit in Bigelow's book—and in the voyage of the *Golden Rule* itself. One man, in his own area and according to his own talents, can speak and act according to his conscience and, by so doing, can give others the courage to do the same. Individual conviction joined to individual conviction can set up a human chain reaction which, eventually, can effect a breakthrough in human relationships as far-reaching as the scientific revolution which ushered in th nuclear age.

"*Golden Rule* was nota one man, or fou men in a boat, or five men in jail. . . Thousands joined and shared in the a venture. . . ."

I feel sure that, if Bert Bigelow's boo gets the attention it should have, thousand upon thousands more will wish to join i the continuing action of "The Voyage o the Golden Rule." —BARBARA REYNOLD

The Nuclear Peril

COMMON SENSE AND NUCLEAR WARFARE b Bertrand Russell. Simon & Schuster 195 92 pp., $2.50.

THE DEVIL'S REPERTOIRE by Victor Go lancz. Doubleday 1959. 192 pp., $2.50.

Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare b Bertrand Russell is an appeal to all wh hope for human survival; it is an appea to common sense. The author presents argu ments against nuclear war which, he b lieves, should appeal with equal force t the Eastern and Western blocs and to th uncommitted nations.

Opposition to nuclear war, suggests Ru sell, should be conceived on the analog of sanitary measures against epidemics. Th peril of nuclear war affects all mankin and the interests of all mankind are at on National self-interest, Russell believe would be sufficient motivation to end th threat of nuclear war; it would not be ne essary to appeal to idealistic motives. H believes that an essential condition for secure peace is the creation of an "In ternational Authority" with power (includ ing that of an international armed force to enforce its decisions.

Bertrand Russell urges that methods b found of lessening the East-West tensio to be followed by negotiated agreement in which each side refrains from seekin advantage over the other. Any such agree ment must, says Russell, include the mutua renunciation of nuclear weapons with a adequate system of inspection. Russell di misses unilateral disarmament by eithe Russia or the United States as politicall impossible.

The Devil's Repertoire, or "Nuclea Bombing and the Life of Man," by Victo

llancz, presents the moral or, as the au- r prefers to term it, "the spiritual or gious case" for unilateral nuclear dis- nament. The author defines unilateral lear disarmament as "the determination er to use nuclear weapons, and never ontemplate or threaten their use, what r the circumstances that may exist or y conceivably arise. . . ." The advocates unilateralism, says Gollancz, cannot talk "necessary safeguards." The world of lateral nuclear disarmament is an abso- e; the world of safeguards is another; d any compromise between them, writes llancz, is by their very natures impos- le. Gollancz admits that no political ty in the world yet accepts this absolute icy of nuclear disarmament. He sug- ts that a minority of politicians and linary citizens in many countries is abso- ist or becoming so. He believes it pos- le that their numbers might increase ficiently rapidly to forestall disaster.

Gollancz takes the reader far afield in his cussions on "Spirit and Matter" and pirit and Ethics" as he probes the depths l difficulties of the human self. He re- ns to his point of departure with clear istence that only by the spirit can the ious circle of materialism enhancing ma- ialism be conquered; that only by self- sness can self-interest be conquered; that ly through love can hostility be con- iated. To Gollancz there is only one way t of the impasse the world is in—"un- s the impossibilism of Christ is substi- ed for the possibilism of politics, the rld must destroy itself." This reviewer ggests that the impossibilism of Christ is e common sense of survival.

—GEORGE WILLOUGHBY

Tract for the Unconvinced

N THE BRINK by Jerome Davis and Hugh Hester. Lyle Stuart 1959. 192 pp., $2.95.

Jerome Davis, a veteran proponent of od causes, and Brigadier General Hester ve written a tract for the "uncon- nced," for the many millions of Ameri- ns who believe that security can be found missiles and thermonuclear weapons. It a book for pacifists to give to their ninformed neighbors. The publisher makes a novel bid to encourage wide distribution by offering to refund the purchase price to anyone who has ten friends read it and sign the dust jacket.

The approach to the reader is on several levels. An effort is made to frighten him with the harsh facts about modern warfare, strontium 90, leukemia and genetic damage. Some of these facts are well stated, others could have been put with more emphasis. Linus Pauling's warning about future leukemia rates might have carried more punch if the authors had also pulled together some of the data appearing on the rising incidence of leukemia in the world today.

On another level, the economic waste of the military system is stressed alongside the tremendous need of the world for capital and development. Pacifists might find useful such items as a listing which translates defense expenditures into their value if used in the construction of schools, hospitals, etc. Defenders of greater aid to the United Nations will appreciate the reminder that the United States now spends a thousand dollars for arms for every twenty-five cents given the UN.

A third approach makes a moral and intellectual appeal by reviewing the responsibility of the United States for the Cold War, the plight of the underdeveloped nations, the significance of China, the rise of Arab nationalism and the problems of bilateral foreign aid. Such scope in a short volume means a certain amount of superficiality and sometimes the scissors-and-paste method of writing triumphs over rational analysis. The world is seen within the framework of American nationalism, of "we" and "they," and the "we" is a liberal American, sometimes leaning over backward to be fair to the Soviet point of view.

The concluding chapter, "What You Can Do," makes a general appeal to the reader to talk peace, to support peace organizations and the United Nations, and to achieve some degree of dedication to this cause. One appendix lists American peace organizations with their addresses, while another provides a bibliography on world problems and thermonuclear warfare.

There is a great need for a variety of reading materials with which to attempt to

enlarge the tiny minority of Americans who are actively concerned in preventing a third world war. *On the Brink* lacks the intellectual sparkle of Emmet Hughes' *America The Vincible,* the cogency of James Warburg's *The West in Crisis* and some of the vigor of Bertrand Russell's and Linus Pauling's recent volumes. But this book has virtues of its own and will stir some readers. Try it on your neighbor.

—William L. Neumann

A Society of Justice and Love

Foundations of the Responsible Society by Walter G. Muelder. Abingdon 1959. 304 pp., $6.

In this comprehensive survey of Christian Social Ethics mankind is viewed as the unit of cooperation, because any assumption of less than world brotherhood is inadequate. But the basic unit is the family. Responsible societies cannot be "built on autocratic family governments" nor "on families that know no order. . . ."

A responsible society must be based on "free and responsible persons" and must "use every means in its power to bring within reach of all its members the material, as well as the ethical, conditions of spiritual growth and vitality."

Democracy, writes Walter Muelder, "must be rescued from simple identification with majority rule and the mere façades of parliamentary governments." At the heart of genuine democracy are small groups. "To these the ethicist should accordingly give special attention: the family, the church, the professional association, the school," local trade unions, small business and the like.

One of the best discussions in the book deals with "Power and Responsible Political Order." Deploring the overemphasis on the idea of power Dr. Muelder says, "Fear of power may increase the power of fear." Yet Christian Social Ethics must not "ignore the nonviolent power of the moral cement within and underlying political institutions." Man must acknowledge proper political authority. But "since the state is an association established to be the servant of justice conscientious obedience to moral law may require disobedience to the positive law of the state. Indeed th right of revolution is inherent in the di nity of man and the system of moral law

Among the subjects discussed in th book are Responsible Management, R sponsible Agricultural Policy, Christia Criticisms of the Welfare State, the Soci Foundations of Civil Law and Work an Social Responsibility. In some respects th concluding chapter on a Responsib World Community is the least valuable. I spite of the importance of the war pro lem today only five and a half pages a devoted to it and little more than tw pages to Communism.

The book as a whole is a valuable co tribution to social ethics. It is written fro a pacifist Christian point of view. In co trast to many "Niebuhrian" writings whic tend to emphasize the God of justice at th expense of the God of love, Muelder do not separate justice from love. After much writing which follows either th Niebuhrian lead of overemphasizing ev with its ethical corollary of the "lesser evi or the liberal optimistic view which gloss over evil, Dr. Muelder's analysis of socie is a refreshing one which avoids both pi falls.

—John M. Swomley J

The Gospel in Chains

I Found God in Soviet Russia by Joh Noble and Glenn D. Everett. St. Martin 1959. 192 pp., $2.95.

John Noble is an American citizen wh was imprisoned by the Russians in 194 served time in various Russian prisons an spent an extended period of years in th Vorkuta labor camp. After his release an return to the United States in 1958 he to his story to FOR member Glenn Evere a Washington newspaperman and corr pondent for Religious News Service, wh assisted in the writing.

The book is well written and always i teresting. It depicts life in Soviet priso and labor camps as brutal and bestial an Soviet authorities as unconcerned abo personal values. Yet, according to Nob everywhere there is an interest in religi and real religious revival. Noble sees eve improvement in his personal fortunes wh

r Soviet control as proof "that there God who reigns over this universe and can answer the prayers of those who ve in Him."

is well to read this book in company Helmut Gollwitzer's *Unwilling Jour-* One has the feeling that Gollwitzer's has fewer political overtones and uses r color words in describing his captivity reas Noble's does contrast the Soviet the "free" world, and graphically de- es each act of persecution. Gollwitzer, erman Protestant pastor, and Noble write from the standpoint of the istian faith but the latter's religious kground (but not Glenn Everett's) is umably that of a fundamentalist.

side from the account of Noble's own matic experiences the chief value of the k is the description of religious leaders le Soviet prisons. There are reports of heran, Baptist, Mennonite, Roman holic, Jewish and other religious lead- nd stories of prayer meetings and other gious services in Soviet labor camps. ole writes movingly of the power the spel has to attract those living under ecution. In this sense the book is a morial for the religious martyrs and se not martyred who nevertheless held heir faith. —JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

Currents of Suspicion

E HOUR by Lillian Smith. Harcourt, ace 1959. 440 pp., $5.

Lillian Smith has demonstrated many es before her ability to combine the l of a masterly writer with the insights a compassionate, wise and perceptive erver. For my money, she has never ubined them more effectively than in new novel, *One Hour*. This story of respectable scientist whose life was sud- nly turned upside down by the accusa- n that he had attempted to attack an ht-year-old girl, and of all the others o found themselves caught in the irling currents of suspicion and outrage, to begin with, an enthralling story well d. But it is a story in the best tradition the novel, bringing its characters living its readers, tenderly laying aside the outer appearances so that we may see the real human passions and fears and nobilities beneath.

Unlike most of Miss Smith's previous writings, *One Hour* does not deal with the racial theme except incidentally. In its social implications, however, it is no less timely than *Strange Fruit* and *Killers of the Dream*. We have had vivid reminders in our time of what accusation and suspicion can do to the lives of their victims.

One who has spent some years working on other people's manuscripts should not conclude a review of *One Hour* without some genuflection to its author's mastery of her craft. Words, sentences, paragraphs, punctuation—these are tools, the means of communication of ideas and information from writer to reader. Used well, they become as unobtrusive as the well-designed scenery of a good play, but in our day we have seen a plethora of writers who seem deliberately to be hanging their words like a curtain between the writer and reader, seeking effect through the bizarre and the shocking, seeming to search for a balance in which the reader is equally unable to say with certainty what the writing means or that it means nothing.

Miss Smith's use of words, and especially of punctuation, frequently is unorthodox. What impressed me was that in no single instance did this unorthodoxy hinder communication, but rather illuminated what the author was trying to convey. It is an enviable accomplishment. —A. H.

Briefly Noted

Among the many books we receive, there are always some for which space is lacking for an adequate review, but which FELLOWSHIP readers may want to investigate.

In *According to Andrew* (James Clarke & Co., London 1958. 299 pp., 10s 6d.), FOR member Frank R. Hancock presents a fictional life of Jesus, written in the first person from the viewpoint of one of the disciples and freely supplying dialog and events not given in the Biblical account. The author's avowed intention is to tell "the story of the human Jesus" rather than of the "supernatural Christ."

In *Sermons Preached in a University Church* (Abingdon 1959. 222 pp., $3.75), FOR Advisory Council member George A. Buttrick has assembled his first book of published sermons. Anyone who has been fortunate to hear Dr. Buttrick preach will now have the opportunity of reflecting at leisure on his acute insights, and those who have not will encounter here an inspired Christian intellect at work. Most of the 26 sermons are grouped under three headings: "Faith and Doubt," "Faith and Life" and "The Christian Year."

The Story of Our Civilization by FOR member Philip Lee Ralph (Dutton 1959. 319 pp., paperback, $1.45) is a compact account of 10,000 years of Western history, with greater attention given to the last 500 years than to any comparable earlier period. The final chapter, "Civilization in Crisis," is, according to Harry Elmer Barnes, "worth more than the price of the whole book."

In *Invitation to Theology* (Christian Education Press 1958. 278 pp., $4), FOR member Allen O. Miller covers a wide range of classical Christian concepts, with strong emphasis on the covenant relationship of God and man. The scholarly resources on which he draws include such figures as H. Richard Niebuhr, Emil Brunner, Paul Tillich and Robert L. Calhoun. Throughout the book the author's pacifism and social concern make themselves felt, as in his forthright statement of Christian vocation: "The church as the body of Christ . . . must be completely pacifist as against militarist, and predominantly pacifist as against nonpacifist."

In *The Gospel and Christian Education* (Westminster 1959. 191 pp., $3.75), FOR member D. Campbell Wyckoff discusses the motives and goals of Christian education in a culture that is in many ways hostile to the Christian way of life. After examining the general problem of education in contemporary culture, Dr. Wyckoff proceeds to construct a theory of Christian education to meet both the theological and sociological demands of our times, with the gospel of Jesus Christ as its underlying principle.

The Long Road to Humanity by Sta ton A. Coblentz (Yoseloff 1959. 494 p $6.) recounts once again for today's rea ers the panorama of violence and crue that made up the substance of such earl books of his as *Marching Men* and *Fro Arrow to Atom Bomb*. In an era in whi most of the carnage of both past a present is served up to the reading pub as glorious adventure, it is refreshing to e counter the unvarnished truth of ma inhumanity to man. Coblentz' vividly t history is not unrelievedly grim, howev Throughout the book the author's huma spirit is evident and, in a minor key, t struggles of men toward justice, peace a brotherhood form a counterpoint to t recital of brutality, greed and oppressi that comprise the bulk of the book.

—W. R.

pamphlet reviews

• *We Strangers and Afraid* by Elfan Rees. pp., 50¢. Order from: Carnegie Endowme for International Peace. United Nations Pla at 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

War and social upheaval have made this t Century of the Homeless Man. In addition tens of millions killed or wounded in t world wars and many smaller-scale conflic millions more have been uprooted from the homes and livelihoods. Few men know the s story better than Elfan Rees, chairman of t International Committee for World Refug Year. Dr. Rees has worked for UNRRA a the World Council of Churches on refug problems. In this pamphlet he tells the har facts, their psychological and social cons quences and what is being done to resto the millions of uprooted—and their childre who have never had roots—to their hum birthright. World Refugee Year will not d pose of the problem, but it can make a sta The purpose of this pamphlet is chiefly to t us not to forget once the year is over, and continue in our efforts as long as the ne exists, beginning now.

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LETTERS

It is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

Communism and the ACLU

ar Editors:

The autobiography of John Haynes Holmes, *peak for Myself,* is a splendid piece of work the whole, and so is John Nevin Sayre's iew of it in your issue of May 1959.

Mr. Sayre, however, goes far astray in accept- Dr. Holme's assertion that in 1940 there s a Communist conspiracy to infiltrate and e over the American Civil Liberties Union. a member of the ACLU Board of Directors m 1931 to 1954, I can state it as absolute t that there never was such a conspiracy. the contrary, the Board, of which Elizabeth rley Flynn was the only Communist Party mber, expelled Miss Flynn because of its ter anti-Communist majority and in order appease the House Committee on Un- erican Activities. The Chairman of the mmittee at that time was Congressman artin Dies.

The first step in the ACLU's anti-Com- inist purge was the organization's non-Com- unist loyalty oath of February 1940, apply- g to all officers and staff members. This 40 Resolution, embodying the abhorrent doc- ne of guilt by association, was brought mptly to bear against Miss Flynn. In my inion, these actions constituted a serious rayal of the Bill of Rights. The 1940 Reso- ion is still officially in effect. And its spirit s been extended to ordinary membership, as ness the following statement on all current mbership cards: "The ACLU needs and wel- mes the support of all those—and only those whose devotion to civil liberties is not quali- d by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK other totalitarian doctrine." CORLISS LAMONT

New York, N. Y.

Reply to Corliss Lamont

I was a member of the Board of Directors the Civil Liberties Union from 1918 to 1928 d thereafter a member of its National Com- ttee until the present year. I do not believe a moment that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was pelled in order to appease the House Com- ttee on Un-American Activities. The situa- n was comparable to the expulsion of J. B. atthews as a Secretary of the Fellowship of conciliation because he had renounced the ligious pacifism whose advocacy was the ntral purpose of the FOR.

The FOR and the ACLU are voluntary non- vernmental membership organizations dedi- ted to specific purposes. It is, therefore, nfusing to the public and divisive to the proper functioning of the organization if officers and members do not hold to and advocate the basic objectives of the organization.

Mr. Lamont fails to differentiate between the legitimate functions and discipline of these voluntary groups and the rights of citizens generally not to be obstructed or interfered with by public authorities or the hysteria of pressure groups. JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Nyack, N. Y.

Have We Forgotten How to Love?

Dear Editors:

Would you say that we have completely turned our backs on the technique and the idea of loving our enemies? I really think we like to have enemies so that somehow we can objectify evil and then if we kill or destroy that enemy we think we have destroyed evil and shout, "Hooray."

But that is not the truth. Killing a man does not destroy evil. Does selfishness end in insanity? Will our glory in heaven be in relation to our love on earth? I am beginning to think that we in the Western world have forgotten how to love.

Should we Christians be doing penance for our sin of damning and hating the Russians? For they are given by God to us as brothers. If our love is not stronger than their hate we shall go down in defeat.

Had you thought of giving publicity to Dr. Laubach's Army of Compassion? Dr. Charles Lowry in Washington, D. C. is working with him on this idea of sending technical help to underprivileged people abroad. It sounds to me like a real practical application of FOR principles. CHARLOTTE BOSSERMAN

Seattle, Washington

Letters for Peace

Dear Editors:

Do you feel that war is the world's No. 1 problem, yet feel helpless to do anything constructive for peace? I am forming a Letters-for-Peace Committee and would like to enlist your help. I believe that if the newspapers and people in government were besieged with letters from the people demanding an end to force as the instrument of settling conflicts between nations, demanding an alternative to the war system, this would have some effect.

You may be young or old, you do not have to belong to any organization, pay any dues, attend any meetings—only be willing to spend a few hours a month composing a few letters and mailing them out. If you are shy about having your name in print, newspapers will print only your initials or some such signature as "Concerned" if you request it.

I will send you sample letters and a list of newspapers and men in government to take turns writing to. If you are willing to help on this project, please write to me.

FRANCES E. LAYER

Bristolville, Ohio

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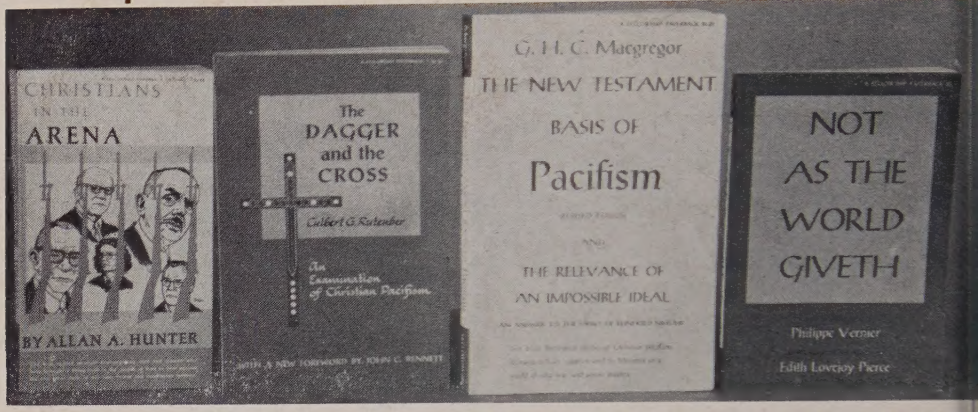
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Culbert G. Rutenber
An Examination of Christian Pacifism
WITH A NEW FOREWORD BY JOHN C. BENNETT
G. H. C. Macgregor
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AND
THE RELEVANCE OF AN IMPOSSIBLE IDEAL
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